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USSR Report

HUMAN RESOURCES

(FOUO 3/82)

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LABOR

EFFICIENT USE OF LABOR IN 11TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Moscow VOPROSY EKONOMIKI in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 3-11

/Article by N. Rogovskiy: "Labor Efficiency in the 11th Five-Year Plan"/

/Text/ The 26th CPSU Congress devoted much attention to the questions of the improvement of the use of manpower resources. And this is quite natural: the meeting of the need of the national economy for manpower since 1981 has become complicated, since the adverse demographic situation, which formed primarily during the postwar years due to the disturbance of the normal sex-age structure of the population, is beginning to appear. The young people, who were born of mothers of war years of birth, are coming of able-bodied age. At the same time large contingents of adult men and women are exceeding able-bodied age.

With respect to individual regions the situation of manpower resources is forming differently: in the RSFSR and the Ukraine an absolute decrease of the size of the population of able-bodied age will occur, while in the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Moldavia the relatively high growth rate of the able-bodied population will be maintained. There will be an especially tight situation in the central regions of the RSFSR.

However, many workers of ministries and departments, associations, enterprises, institutions and organizations treat this situation as something of no concern to them, believing that it is impossible to do without an increase of the number of employed people with the introduction of new capacities and the increase of the output of products. Until recently the executives of many enterprises envisaged in the plans approved by them increases of the number of workers and employees, which exceeded by twofold the estimated number which is determined by USSR Gosplan on the basis of the balance of manpower resources. The incorrect determination of the necessary number decreases production efficiency, since it does not direct the attention of the executives of ministries, associations and enterprises toward the efficient use of manpower resources and, what is especially alarming, objectively disposes them to the extensive path of development.

Often the attempt is made to explain the shortcomings in the organization of production and labor, the inability to establish the proper order in the use of operating equipment and its modernization and the lack of plans of the complete mechanization and automation of production processes by the want of manpower. At new enterprises and institutions the need for manpower can be met only in the case of the further substantial increase of labor productivity.

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On the basis of scientific and technical progress and the improvement of the organization of production and labor during the 10th Five-Year Plan the productivity of national labor increased 17 percent. In industry 75 percent of the increase of output, the entire increase of agricultural output and 95 percent of the increase of the amount of construction and installation work were obtained by means of the increase of labor productivity. However, the assignments on this most important indicator, which were established in the five-year plan, were not completely fulfilled. This is explained first of all by the fact that the reequipment of labor was carried out in an inadequate amount: the achievements of science and technology were introduced slowly in production and the replacement of obsolete equipment and the modernization of operation equipment were carried out just as slowly, as a result of which the proportion of manual labor was decreased in a comparatively small amount. The serious shortcomings in the organization of labor also had an adverse effect: technically sound output norms, especially for workers whose wages are based on a time rate, were poorly introduced; the idle times, unauthorized absences from work and turnover of workers are great, the shift coefficient in practice is not increasing.

At the same time the nonfulfillment of the five-year plan on the increase of labor productivity is also explained by a number of objective causes. As is known, during the latest period the development of the productive forces in Siberia and the eastern regions of the country was intensified, which required greater expenditures of labor. In a number of sectors of the mining industry the content of metal in the ores decreased, and as a result the labor expenditures increased.

In the total volume of industrial production the share of the food and several other sectors of industry with a relatively higher output of products per worker as compared with the average output for industry decreased. In construction during the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan nothing new happened in the area of the mechanization of labor and the introduction of advanced materials and designs, which adversely affected labor productivity in the sector.

The acceleration of the growth rate of labor productivity in all sectors of physical production is called for by the Basic Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990. In industry labor productivity should increase by 23-25 percent. At the same time the increase of output due to the increase of labor productivity should come to 90 percent. This means that at operating enterprises the entire increase of output should be provided by the increase of labor productivity, while at many of them it should be provided even with a decrease of the number of workers. In construction it is envisaged to increase labor productivity by 15 percent, owing to which 100 percent of the increase of construction and installation work is being achieved, while in rail transport it is envisaged to increase labor productivity by 10-12 percent (86 percent of the increase of the freight turnover).

The achievement of such high indicators, of course, cannot be guaranteed without serious work on the identification of the reserves available at enterprises and their efficient use. Such work first of all must begin with the elaboration of specific measures on the significant decrease of the number of workers engaged in manual operations. It is impossible to link this question only with the complication of the demographic situation. The decrease of manual and difficult labor is an independent and very important social sphere of activity at enterprises.

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In a speech at the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum L. I. Brezhnev noted: "The present demographic situation requires manpower resources to be used better. Measures on the limitation of the increase of the number of workers in some nonproductive sectors and the active involvement in production of retirees, housewives and residents of the village are outlined in the plan. However, this is obviously inadequate. The root of evil is the slow reduction of manual labor. As a whole for industry about 40 percent of the workers are engaged in it, while in construction and the sphere of service it is even more. Gosplan and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology should expedite the elaboration of a comprehensive goal program on the reduction of manual, especially difficult labor."

In conformity with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the improvement of the economic mechanism, assignments on the reduction of the use of manual labor are established for USSR ministries and departments in the five-year plan for 1981-1985. However, no matter how good a plan indicator might be, it cannot yield the anticipated results, if work ensuring the outlined reduction of manual labor is not performed before and after its approval. This means that comprehensive programs of automation and mechanization, in which first of all the production of more perfect machines, equipment, instruments and devices and their extensive introduction in all production processes would be envisaged, should be elaborated by every ministry and department, association and enterprise.

Along with the improvement of the use of manpower resources in production sectors serious attention must be devoted to these questions in the sectors of the nonproductive sphere, in which about one-third of all workers are employed at present. During the Ninth and 10th Five-Year Plans the increase of the number of workers here was much higher than in physical production. It is necessary to limit the increase of the number of workers in the nonproductive sphere by the considerable enlargement of the sphere of the norm setting of labor. Such more advanced norms than the prevailing ones should be elaborated by the Ministry of Trade, Tsentsosoyuz, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health and other ministries and departments, under the jurisdiction of which there are institutions and organizations of the sphere of service. The limits of the number in the annual and five-year plans, which are established for them, will be sound only on these conditions. Starting with the plan for 1982 the wage fund and the limit of the number will be approved for enterprises and organizations of trade and public dining, at which the number of workers is overstated annually by 250,000-300,000 as compared with the number stipulated in the estimates of USSR Gosplan and considerable overexpenditures of the wage fund are permitted.

It also seems expedient to expand the application of the Shchekino method, which ensures the fulfillment of a greater amount of work with a smaller number of personnel in the sectors of the nonproductive sphere, including institutions of science and scientific service, having permitted not only workers, but also engineering and technical personnel and employees to combine occupations (positions). At the same time collective piece-rate wage should have been used more extensively at enterprises and organizations for the rendering of services to the population (public dining, trade and so on), which would have stimulated the release of excess personnel, the filling up of the workday and the development of interchangeability.

Under the conditions of the tight balance of manpower resources it is necessary, in our opinion, to restrict the further increase of the number of workers of the

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management staff. According to a preliminary estimate, the number of these workers in 1980 came to 15 percent of the number of workers and employees. The government has restricted somewhat the rights of the executives of ministries, departments, councils of ministers of the union republics, associations and enterprises and has permitted them to approve the staffs for operating and new enterprises and institutions not within the limits of the plan on labor, as was done until now, but within the limits of the maximum allocations for administrative and management expenditures, which are established in the state budget.

A certain limitation of the increase of the number of workers at institutions of science and scientific service and at all other institutions and organizations, which are financed from the budget, including design institutes and bureaus, will be a definite source of the meeting of the need for manpower of the sectors of physical production, especially of the central regions of the country.

At the 26th CPSU Congress L. I. Brezhnev said that our veterans must be enlisted more extensively in labor activity, particularly in the sphere of service, of course, to the extent of their possibility and with allowance made for the need of the national economy. Under present conditions this is a very important task. At the same time the strictest steps should be taken with respect to people who deliberately evade socially useful activity. There are also other reserves, the efficient use of which could improve the provision of the national economy with manpower. It is necessary to use work at home more extensively, which for the present is being done on an inadequate scale. But meanwhile the experience of work in some socialist countries, which for a long time have used the labor of homeworkers, attests that it is possible to derive a significant advantage from this, especially in the increase of the production of mass demand goods and services requiring payment. At present the number of homeworkers in our country comes to about 200,000. It is expedient for their number to be increased significantly.

The use of the manpower of kolkhozes and sovkhoses between seasons is of great importance. From December to February millions of kolkhoz farmers are not involved in the public sector. The production cooperation of state industrial enterprises with kolkhozes and sovkhoses, for example, in the production of simple parts, assemblies, semimanufactures, packaging, wrapping materials and so on, began to spread in recent years. Positive experience in this respect has been gained by the LOMO and Skorokhod production associations, the Moscow Radio Plant, the Novaya zarya Perfume Factory and other enterprises.

Various sections and shops of industrial enterprises, which would use the labor of kolkhoz farmers and the workers of sovkhoses between seasons, should be set up in rural areas during the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan. As rough estimates show, hundreds of thousands of people could be involved in this form of the organization of production.

The more extensive dissemination of work with a partial workday or a partial work week merits serious attention. At present employment in the national economy with a partial workday amounts to only about 500,000 people, or less than 0.5 percent of the total number of workers and employees. At the same time the number of women, who have children and work a partial work week, came to about 120,000 (according to the data as of 1 July 1978), including 28,000 in industry, 8,000 at sovkhoses, 4,600 in construction and about 82,000 in other sectors of the national economy.

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In many sectors of the national economy real possibilities exist for the more extensive enlistment of women having children in various jobs, as well as of other categories of the population (retirees, the disabled, students and others) in work with a partial workday (partial work week). However, many executives of enterprises are still refraining from the enlistment of women in work and of people with a limited capacity for work in a job with a partial workday.

It is necessary for USSR ministries and departments, the local soviets of people's deputies and labor departments when drafting the plans of the provision of subordinate enterprises and organizations with manpower for 1981-1985 to envisage the more extensive enlistment, where conditions permit, of women having children and people with a limited capacity for work in a job with a partial workday. Previously this was hindered by the fact that these contingents of working people were included in the limits of the number, which were approved in the plan. Now the situation has changed. The USSR Council of Ministers has established that the people working a partial workday or partial work week, as well as at home, are not taken into account in the limit of the number of workers and employees. Thus, extensive opportunities have been afforded to enterprises and associations for the enlistment of considerable contingents of workers in work.

The greater involvement of women and people of retirement age in social production would be promoted by a well-elaborated list of occupations and jobs, in which it is most expedient and efficient to use their labor. The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems with the participation of ministries should do this.

The more extensive use of the holding of more than one job, which in our country amounts to only about 2 percent of the total number of workers and employees, is among the factors which increase the efficiency of the use of manpower resources. Extensive opportunities for the expansion of the system of the combining of occupations were afforded by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the improvement of the economic mechanism. Apparently, this must also be extended to the holders of more than one job, who work in the sectors of nonphysical production.

In the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress L. I. Brezhnev emphasized the need for the leveling of social differences with a breakdown by territories. At the same time it is difficult to ensure the organized distribution and redistribution of manpower resources, if up to now considerable differences exist in the cultural and personal living conditions of the population by regions of the country. The lag in this respect of Siberia and the Far East, which are richest in natural, fuel, energy and raw material resources, on the basis of which the intensive development of productive forces is envisaged during the 11th Five-Year Plan and beyond it, is especially intolerable. Until now it was believed that the attraction of the necessary manpower to these regions could be achieved by means of various wage increments. However, such an assumption has far from completely justified itself. The cost of living in the eastern regions as compared with the European regions still remains higher. The preferences and benefits in the wage, which are in effect there, with the exception of the regions of the Far North and the regions equated with them, do not take fully into account the additional expenditures of the population, which are connected with the peculiar natural and climatic conditions. Moreover, they continue to lag behind the European regions in the development of housing and municipal services, institutions of health, cultural and personal service. "That is why,"

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L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "we are planning during the current five-year plan to carry out even more rapidly in these regions the construction of housing and the entire sociocultural complex and to improve the supply of the population with mass demand goods. Everyone will agree that the situation here must be changed, and as soon as possible!"

However, not only Siberia and the Far East, but also the regions of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR, where the increased outflow of the rural population to the cities and beyond the region is continuing, are arousing anxiety. The solution of the problem of attaching the rural population of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR requires the taking of cardinal steps on the improvement of the economy and the social development of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. A comprehensive program of the development of agriculture and the social transformation of rural population centers is now being implemented in this zone. The continuation of the work in this direction is called for in the five-year plan, and the maximum effort must be exerted so that the five-year plan of the comprehensive development of the Nonchernozem Zone would be fulfilled.

A special task faces the republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus. In the region the number of workplaces will be increased substantially, first of all in the sphere of physical production. This will be conducive to the increase of the social mobility of the indigenous inhabitants and the creation of the conditions for the territorial redistribution of manpower resources in the interests of the development of production in both these and other regions of the country. L. I. Brezhnev said that "it is necessary to involve the population of these places more actively in the development of new territories of the country. And, of course, to develop here the works necessary for the national economy, to carry out more extensively the training of skilled workers of the indigenous nationality, first of all from among rural young people." The means of the further work on increasing the efficiency of the use of the manpower resources of Central Asia and the Caucasus are specified in this conclusion. USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the councils of ministers of the corresponding union republics should elaborate measures on the realization of this very important conclusion.

I would like to speak briefly about so-called daily commuting. In the USSR the process of urbanization is developing rapidly. The proportion of the urban population in 1950 was about 40 percent, while on 1 January 1980 63 percent of the population of our country already lived in cities. The process of urbanization is also characterized by the rapid increase of the number of large cities, including city giants. In all during the years of Soviet power 1,188 cities have been formed. But it is well known that industry is the main city-forming factor. And indeed, there is no city in the country, in which there are no industrial enterprises, for which, of course, considerable contingents of manpower were required, which in most instances could not be provided by means of the available population. Thus, the population of cities increased due to a large influx of rural inhabitants. A significant portion of the peasants, having become workers, moved for permanent residence to the cities, while others, as in the past, live in rural areas or in the suburbs and merely go to work in the cities. The available data attest that at present many people, who live in rural areas and the suburbs and work in the cities, often spend up to 2 hours traveling in one direction. Thus, our society is incurring enormous losses from a spontaneous process which cannot be controlled by anyone--daily commuting. And it is a matter not only of the loss of time, but

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also of the social consequences of such a forced "way of spending time": for these people nearly all the free time is spent on travels. No time is left for cultural recreation--the theater, the movies, self-education and so on.

In this connection daily commuting merits the most serious attention, and it must be studied from the beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plan. It seems expedient to begin the work in this area first of all with a comprehensive study of daily commuting. Here specific recommendations on the normalization of this process by individual regions and cities should be elaborated. Foremost attention must be devoted to the regions, in which the distances, the time spent on traveling and the number of commuters are the maximum, and particularly to such cities as Moscow, Leningrad, Khar'kov, Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk and others.

Two opinions are expressed in economic literature. Some authors believe that all "out-of-towners" should be resettled at the place of their job, others propose, on the contrary, to build new enterprises or branches of operating urban enterprises in rural areas. The second suggestion seems more practicable to us. Indeed, several hundred thousand people travel to work in Moscow from the suburbs. If suddenly they all moved to Moscow for permanent residence, the size of the population of this city would increase due to commuters alone by 15-20 percent, which from all points of view is inadmissible. Apparently, the further increase of the number of inhabitants of large cities must be checked in every possible way. Hence, a second means remains--to build new enterprises in rural areas and the suburban zone and to move some operating enterprises there from the cities (or to organize their branches). It is necessary to do this, since under the present conditions of society it is impossible to accept the fact that millions of people are wasting their time. In this connection the work carried out by the Moscow ZIL Production Association on the creation of subsidiaries in the outlying area, which enabled the association to greatly increase the output of products and to use manpower locally, merits serious attention. Many other enterprises are also taking this path, which must be encouraged in every possible way.

The improvement of the norm setting of labor is one of the effective means of the economy of labor expenditures. Meanwhile some ministries are inadequately carrying out the work on the revision of obsolete and too low norms in accordance with established procedure. USSR ministries and departments, associations and enterprises should sharply increase the proportion of the technically sound norms for piece-rate jobs, first of all auxiliary jobs, using extensively intersectorial and sectorial norms and standards. It seems to us that associations and enterprises should have annual and five-year plans on the revision of the output norms on the basis of the technical improvement of production. Moreover, maximum amounts of the exceeding of the output norms should be established. It is impossible even to recognize it to be normal when the prevailing output norms are exceeded by 1.5- to 2-fold and are not revised for a long time.

Serious attention should also be devoted to the improvement of the use of working time. At many enterprises and construction projects the losses of shift time are still large, due to which a large number of workers and a large amount of equipment are idle. What are the causes of idle times? About half of them are due to shortcomings in material and technical supply and the organization of production and labor. Enterprises and construction projects frequently do not receive enough of the raw materials, materials, semimanufactures and components they need, and if they do receive them, it is with a violation of the delivery deadlines, most often at the

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end of the month, the quarter and at times the year, which in the end gives rise to the unevenness of the work and forces them to retain a reserve number of workers. But there are also other causes: the disorderliness of the organization of production at the enterprises themselves, the disintegration of the work of individual shops and sections, shortcomings in the service of workplaces (the lack of the necessary tools, the unsatisfactory operation of intraplant and shop transportation for the delivery to the workplace of blanks and parts, the maladjustment of equipment due to shortcomings in current and capital repair and so on, for which the executives of enterprises are to blame).

Considerable losses are connected, unfortunately, with violations of labor discipline. These are first of all unauthorized absences from work, late arrivals to work and the early leaving from it, the unsatisfactory organization of lunch breaks and so forth. The drive for the filling up of the workday and the tightening up of production and labor discipline should always be at the center of attention of the executives of ministries, associations and enterprises.

It is hardly necessary to speak of the fact that the increase of the efficiency and quality of work is directly dependent on the increase of the personal material interest of workers and employees in the results of their labor.

In conformity with the policy of the CPSU, which is aimed at the steady increase of the material and cultural standard of living of the Soviet people, the planned increase and improvement of the wage of the workers and employees engaged in the national economy were continued during the 10th Five-Year Plan. The amounts of the wage rates and salaries of 31 million workers and employees engaged in the nonproductive sphere were increased. Rewards for seniority or for length of service are being paid for the purpose of increasing production efficiency, attaching personnel and tightening up labor discipline in a number of the most important sectors of the national economy, particularly in construction and rail transport. For some groups of workers regional coefficients have been introduced or their amounts have been increased.

The average monthly monetary wage of workers and employees in 1980 was 168 rubles, while with the addition of payments and benefits from public consumption funds it was 232 rubles. However, it should be noted that the increase of the average wage for each percent increase of labor productivity in industry in recent years was higher than envisaged in the five-year and annual plans. This attests to the inadequate effectiveness of the use of the wage fund.

At many enterprises of industry and other sectors of physical production the wage does not always directly depend on the specific results of work, but is "derived" mechanically, primarily in order at any cost not to permit the transfer of workers to other enterprises. Such cases are completely intolerable, and they must be combated, since they have nothing in common with the socialist principle of wages.

Measures on the increase of the wage at the expense of centralized sources are envisaged in the 11th Five-Year Plan. N. A. Tikhonov spoke about this in a report at the 26th CPSU Congress: "The increase of the monetary income of the population will also continue. The average monthly wage of workers and employees will be increased by 13-16 percent. Moreover, the strengthening of the dependence of the amount of the wage on the end results of the work of the collective and each worker should be ensured. The gradual increase of the minimum wage to 80 rubles a month and of the

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rates and salaries of workers and employees, first of all in the productive sectors of the national economy, is envisaged as the conditions are created and the resources are accumulated.

"It is planned to implement centrally a number of other measures: to introduce in the Urals and in some regions of Kazakhstan regional coefficients of the wage of workers and employees, for whom they have not been established, raises for a continuous length of service in the southern regions of the Far East and Eastern Siberia, to increase the supplementary payments in some sectors for working at night.

"It is planned to allocate in terms of 1985 approximately 10 billion rubles for the implementation of new measures in the area of the increase of wages.

"The pay of kolkhoz farmers will increase by 20-22 percent. With allowance made for the income from the private plot the income of kolkhoz farmers will come close to the income of workers and employees."

The implementation of these measures will make it possible to eliminate some substantial shortcomings which exist in wages. But it is impossible to rely only on centralized measures. Ministries and departments, associations and enterprises have sufficient means so that the wage would be paid for work, and would not be derived regardless of the quantity and quality of the expended labor, which, unfortunately, has become quite widespread. Any violation of the socialist principle of pay according to labor should meet with active opposition and should be punished.

The successful accomplishment of the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress requires the implementation of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality." What has been done to implement it in the time that has passed? First of all the use when calculating labor productivity of the standard net output instead of the gross (commodity) output, as well as of standards of the expenditures of wages has been increased considerably. In the plan for 1980 limits of the number of workers and employees were approved for USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of the union republics, while the latter approved them for the associations and enterprises subordinate to them.

All the procedural principles and instructions on the compiling of plans on labor for the year, the 5-year period and the more distant future were elaborated and approved during July-December 1979 and the first quarter of 1980. Procedural instructions on the manner of determining the long-range standards of the wage per ruble of output were approved, which should ensure in the plans a closer relationship between the volumes of production and the amount of assets, which are being spent on wages, the increase of the interest of associations and enterprises in the adoption of more intense annual plans as compared with the five-year plan, the increase of the dependence of the wage of each worker on the final overall results of the work of the association and the enterprise, the improvement of the monitoring of the expenditure of assets for wages.

The Instructions on the Procedure of Determining the Indicator on the Reduction of the Use of Manual Labor in Industry for 5 Years, on the basis of which USSR Gosplan drew up the control figures and reported them to the ministries, were approved in early 1980. However, I would like to note that the elimination of the lag in the

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mechanization of manual operations and the automation of production is being carried out to an inadequate extent and is dependent not only on the unsatisfactory work of enterprises in this respect, but also on shortcomings in planning. It is necessary to change the existing situation. The acceleration of the mechanization of manual, and first of all difficult, labor-consuming operations which are detrimental to the human body is the most important direction of the improvement of the social conditions of labor and the reduction of the need for manpower.

In the plan for 1981 and in the Basic Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990 USSR Gosplan jointly with the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems drew up a balance of manpower resources for the country as a whole and by individual union republics. The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems is elaborating and implementing economic and organizational measures, which are aimed at the increase of conformity to the plan in the distribution of manpower, at the reduction of the turnover and the attachment of personnel.

The councils of ministers of the union republics, the oblast (kray) and city executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies are drawing up balances of manpower resources by republics, while those of the RSFSR are drawing them up by economic regions, oblasts (krays) and large cities. Moreover, plans of the provision of production associations (enterprises) and organizations with manpower are being compiled. Thus, the further improvement of planning at all levels of the national economy was begun in 1981.

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DEMOGRAPHY

BOOK DISCUSSES DEMOGRAPHY OF FAMILY, INDIVIDUAL LIFE

Moscow DEMOGAFY DUMAYUT, SPORYAT, SOVETUYUT in Russian 1981 (signed to press 1 Apr 81) pp 1-22, 231-232

/Table of contents, annotation and introduction from book "Demographers Think, Argue, Advise", compiled and edited by Candidate of Economic Sciences G. P. Kiseleva, Izdatel'stvo "Finansy i statistika", 48,000 copies, 232 pages, illustrations/

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Some questions interest tens and hundreds of people, others interest thousands, but there are problems which are of interest for millions. Questions of the population are by right grouped with them. The titles of the articles published in this collection: "Our Happiness Is in Children," "How Many Years Do We Live?" and "Two in the Family Boat," attest to the diversity of the demographic problems at the present stage. Articles devoted to the birth rate and the raising of children, life expectancy and active old age, the formation of families and the problems of divorce are also included in the book.

For a wide range of readers.

To the Reader of the Collection "Demografy dumayut, sporyat, sovetuyut"

Among the adult population of our country, apparently, there is not a person who has not once pondered the essence of the questions: how many children is it best of all to have in the family and how does one achieve longevity, how does one get in the family boat through the stormy sea of life to one's golden anniversary, not only without having lost the kindness and tenderness, which they felt for each other on their wedding day, but also having enriched them with the loftiest human feelings of conjugal, parental love and affection, and others. Questions, questions and questions.

Of course, not all of the questions touched upon in the collection have been studied equally; it is not possible to give to all of them either an exhaustive or an unequivocal answer; for some questions there is not yet a universally accepted point of view. But the authors of the articles, by using the materials of state statistics, censuses and special sample surveys, as well as by analyzing the letters arriving at the editorial offices of newspaper and journals, are seeking, thinking, arguing, advising.

The comprehensive study of the problems of population, especially such complex and diverse problems as the development of the family, the birth and raising of

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children, the increase of life expectancy, active old age and so on, cannot be limited only to a demographic analysis. The knowledge and experience of a wide range of specialists not only in the field of demography, but also in the field of economics, sociology, pedagogy, psychology, sexology and an entire group of other sciences, as well as of workers of literature and art, who, by using their specific methods, extend and enrich our world outlook, are required here. Therefore in the collection, along with the articles of demographers, articles of economists and psychologists, journalists and futurologists, medical people and sociologists are presented.

What reasons are responsible for the publication of the collection?

An enormous and ever increasing interest of broad strata of the population in demographic problems has been observed in recent years. Today the word "demography" has become one of the quite frequently used words, while just 15-20 years ago it was encountered primarily as a synonym of the concept "population statistics" and was present in the vocabulary of a very narrow group of specialists in population statistics.

A large number of special works and quite a number of popular works, which are devoted to population problems, have been published by now. Articles, in which well-known scientists, journalists and writers discuss population problems in a popular form which is easily understood by a wide range of readers, are being published in newspapers and journals. These articles are not only being read with great and invariable interest, but often result in discussions which are participated in by thousands of people of different ages and occupations, who have just begun a life of labor and who have worked more than 10 years; married and single people; fathers and mothers, who have raised several children, and the parents of a single child; couples who have lived a long life in love and harmony, and former husbands and wives, whose length of family life did not exceed a few months. Letters, in which difficult questions of love, marriage, divorces, the protection of one's health and the raising of children are touched upon, are arriving at the editorial offices of newspapers and journals. An exchange of the opinions of the readers both with the authors of the letters and with those who responded to these letters arises. At times at the request of the editorial board specialist-scientists, who give an analysis of the voluminous mail of the readers and express their opinion on debatable questions, conclude the discussions.

The great sincere interest, which is constantly displayed by readers in the discussion and analysis of demographic problems, an earnest interest, which rules out the triviality of the opinions and the frivolity of the conclusions, attests not only to the need for the further scientific elaboration of a large set of demographic questions, but also to the importance and timeliness of their discussion among the broadest strata of the population of the country.

When discussing the various aspects of the development of the population it is also necessary to bear in mind that demographic processes encompass the entire population of the country, and, consequently, the understanding of their essence and trends should become universal. It is our firm conviction that the success of many state measures on the control of demographic processes to a considerable extent will be determined by how the population itself treats the development of these processes, what directions and means of their development it considers to be most

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favorable and necessary, how thoroughly it realizes the importance of the correct solution of certain demographic problems or others. Self-knowledge is the most important condition, in case of which a person is aware of himself as an integral part of nature and society with the peculiarities and needs characteristic of him.

The more thorough understanding of the socioeconomic, psychological and demographic changes occurring in society and more mature social consciousness depend on the correct realistic idea of the population of the country about the conditions of its economic, social, psychological and demographic development; at the same time the connection of one's own fate with the fate of the state and society will be sensed more distinctly by people.

Love, marriage, the family, the raising of children, longevity--these are not only personal questions which concern individual people, but also questions which concern our entire society. In the USSR Constitution it is stated that the family is under the protection of the state. This is a great achievement of the socialist system. In the end the well-being of our socialist society depends on the strength and well-being of the family, the state of health of the population and its reproduction.

It seems that the collection of articles being offered may help the reader to understand the essence of a number of demographic problems.

Along with prominent scientists of the country in the field of demography, medicine, sociology, economics and psychology, well-known journalists and writers are also authors of articles of the collection.

Of course, this book can by no means aspire to a comprehensive and complete coverage of the most complicated theoretical questions concerning various aspects of the development of the population. Its aim is to show that demographic problems cannot be solved by themselves, but require both earnest, scientifically sound measures of influence of the state on demographic processes and a conscious, thoroughly considered attitude of the population itself toward them.

The authors of the articles published in the collection, of course, do not present ready-made formulas, by means of which it would be possible to resolve all the most complex situations of life. Is it possible to give a formula of how many children there should be in the family? Apparently not.

Thus, there also cannot be an unequivocal answer for different people to the question of how to maintain love for long years and how to see to it that old age would not be a burdensome, but a happy and active period of life. However, what has been said does not mean that at present science does not have at all knowledge about how it is possible to create a favorable psychological climate in the family and by what means it is possible to avoid daily highly conflictual situations in the interrelations of couples; when divorce is a bad thing and when it is a good thing; how many children it is best of all to have in the family both from the point of view of the interests of the family and from the standpoint of the interests of the state.

Indeed, there are no ready-made formulas for all events of life. But there are data of scientific studies, there is the vast historical experience of the

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development of human society, there are volumes of statistical data, which contain the most diverse demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the population over many tens of years, there are the materials of censuses. All this enables researchers, having armed themselves with the basic assumptions of the Marxist-Leninist theory of cognition, the most advanced theory in the world, and with all the modern methods of analyzing the most complex social phenomena, not only to seek the correct means of solving demographic problems, but also to find them.

The articles of the collection are broken down into five sections which are devoted to the most urgent problems of population: the development of the population of our country, the birth rate and the reproduction of the population, life expectancy and health, questions of the family and daily life, the settlement of the population.

It should be noted that some articles are assigned to one section or another quite arbitrarily, since it is difficult, and at times simply impossible, to draw a line between questions about the maintenance of family happiness and the number of children in the family, about the well-being and strength of the family and longevity and so forth.

Some of the articles included in the collection were published quite a long time ago--7-10 years ago. However, some of the problems, which they touched upon, to this time have not only not lost their topicality, but have even become more topical. Therefore it is possible and even useful to direct the attention of the readers once again to the questions which have retained their urgency over many years. As to some of the statistical data, which are contained in these articles and to a certain extent are obsolete, from the point of view of the analysis of the most important problems of the development of the population this is of no fundamental importance.

In a number of instances the points of view of the authors on some particular questions, which have been touched upon in the articles, do not always coincide, which is quite natural. Not without reason does the word "argue" appear in the title of the collection. Some of the suggestions expressed in the articles are also not indisputable. Thus, perhaps, not everyone will agree with the suggestion of M. Ya. Sonin about the introduction of a very appreciable tax on single people, which is contained in his article "I Don't Want to Get Married." At the same time the idea of creating a special-purpose fund by means of a tax from people not having children, the assets of which would be strictly distributed in favor of families with children, so that all the members of society would to one extent or another help raise the children--our young generation, merits attention. A number of authors advance various kinds of suggestions which, in their opinion, will be conducive to the solution of the questions being discussed by them. However, it should be borne in mind that all these suggestions are the personal opinion of the authors and many of them need more thorough study and serious, well-reasoned substantiation.

It is necessary to direct the attention of the readers to such a most important circumstance: the raising by the majority of authors of urgent, problematic issues, which concern various aspects of the development of the population at the present stage, became possible only owing to the enormous social and economic achievements which have been made in our country in a historically short time and predetermined the formation of a new type of the development of the population.

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The qualitative characteristics of the population, first of all its social structure, educational and cultural level, especially of the population of previously backward regions of the country, have changed substantially during the years which have passed since the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution. A new type of reproduction of the population has formed on the basis of a relatively low level of the birth rate and a low death rate.

The structure of the employed population has also changed fundamentally: women make up more than half of the population employed in the national economy. Employment in national labor provides them economic and social independence and is a progressive and irreversible process. And it is necessary, of course, to keep all this in mind when reading the collection, since in many articles the authors direct attention to the negative (dark) sides of a number of demographic phenomena and do not dwell on the coverage of the great achievements which characterize the development of the population of our country, believing that they are well known to the readers.

At the 25th CPSU Congress L. I. Brezhnev noted that "the problems of the environment and population, which in recent times have become aggravated, should not fall from the field of vision of Soviet scientists. The improvement of the socialist use of nature and the elaboration of an effective demographic policy are an important task of the entire set of natural and social sciences."¹ Therefore the attraction of the attention of a broad group of the population to the discussion of the most complicated demographic problems and their serious, qualified analysis, in our opinion, is one of the most important conditions when solving the most important problem--the working out of measures of an effective demographic policy. Only on the condition of universal demographic competence, with the correct understanding of the trends of the development of the processes of population is it possible to count on the success of the measures on the control of demographic phenomena.

The article of D. I. Valentey, "250,000,000: Comments, Problems, Forecasts," which was published in November 1973, opens the collection. This article introduces the reader to the group of most important and urgent problems of population. In spite of the fact that many years have already passed since its publication, many of the questions touched upon in it retain their urgency today as well and arouse deep interest. In it a serious comprehensive analysis of the problems of the development of the population of our country is given, the close dependence of demographic processes on the socioeconomic development of society is shown; moreover, a large number of demographic forecasts are contained in it.

It is possible to judge how accurate these forecasts were and how aptly the problems, which concern all the most important trends of the growth and development of our population, were raised in the article of Doctor of Economic Sciences D. I. Valentey on the basis of current data of state statistics and censuses.

The great social changes, which occurred in our country during the period between the two censuses, in 1970-1979, are shown in the article of A. A. Isupov, chief of the All-Union Population Census Administration of the USSR Central Statistical

1. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 73.

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Administration. The results of the 1979 census convincingly demonstrated the great achievements in the cultural, educational and economic development of the Soviet state.

The elaboration of measures aimed at the improvement of the demographic situation is an extremely complicated matter. Many demographic processes are hard to regulate, particularly such a process as the birth rate. That is why tremendous work is required not only on the study of the most important processes of population, but also on the determination of the possibilities of their control. For in order to propose certain measures of demographic policy or others, it is necessary to be certain that they will be effective.

The appreciable decline of the birth rate on a greater portion of the territory of the country is one of the basic problems of population, which have now become acute. The section of the collection "Our Happiness Is in Children" is devoted to the problems of the birth rate. Let us note that we consider the questions connected with the birth rate to be the central theme of the collection. And they are covered not only in this section, but also in other articles of the collection. The complexity and uniqueness of the present demographic situation in the USSR to a considerable extent are governed by the great regional differences in the intensity of the birth rate among the population which lives on the territory of our country. The point is that at present in all the economically developed countries, including the Soviet Union, the death rate has in practice stabilized at a comparatively low level. Thus, the intensity of the reproduction of the population, that is, the intensity of the replacement of the outgoing generations by new ones, as a result of births and deaths, for the most part depends on the level of the birth rate, since significant regional differences do not exist in the intensity of the death rate among the population of the USSR. At present in our country there are two types of the reproduction of the population. The main type is the reproduction which is close to simple reproduction and is characteristic of the majority of the population of the USSR (the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Belorussian SSR, the Baltic republics). In the case of this type of reproduction the size of the population is increasing negligibly--0.2-0.5 percent a year. Its characteristic traits are a low, deliberately restricted birth rate and a low death rate. The other type is expanded reproduction. It is based on a high, deliberately unrestricted birth rate and a low death rate and is characteristic of the population of the republics of Central Asia and, until recently, of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Armenia. The natural growth of the population in the republics of Central Asia is the highest in the USSR and for many years has been 2.0-2.5 percent a year. The transitional type is the shift from expanded reproduction to slightly expanded reproduction, which is characteristic at present of the population of the Georgian, Moldavian, Armenian, Azerbaijan and Kazakh union republics. But another type of reproduction of the population is also known to demographers--the contracted type, when the number of births is less than the number of deaths and the size of the population decreases. Fortunately, so far there has been no natural decrease of the population in any republic of the Soviet Union, everywhere the number of births is greater than the number of deaths.

However, if the trend of having no more than one or two children in the family lasts among the majority of inhabitants of those republics, in which the level of the birth rate is now already very low, there is the danger of a shift of a

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significant portion of the population to restricted reproduction. The lamentable consequences of a low birth rate are stated in sufficient detail in the article of Professor D. I. Valentey "250,000,000: Comments, Problems, Forecasts."

Among the authors of the section "Our Happiness Is in Children" are the demographers Candidates of Economic Sciences V. A. Borisov, A. G. Vishnevskiy and G. P. Kiseleva, Doctor of Medical Sciences Professor I. P. Katkova, the sociologist Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. I. Antonov and the writer Yu. B. Ryurikov. All the authors of the articles of this sector are united in the opinion that one child in the family is a negative phenomenon which is unfavorable not only for society as a whole, but also for the family itself and for the only child.

In our opinion, the need to set forth a clear and precise position on the evaluation of the adverse consequences, with which the transition of a significant portion of the population of the USSR to a single-child family is fraught, at present is very urgent. This is explained by many reasons. First of all by the fact that, in spite of the rather large number of scientific and journalistic works devoted to the problems of the birth rate, among authors until recently there was still no unity in the evaluation of this phenomenon for the development of our country. On the one hand, many demographers (and not only demographers) are expressing serious anxiety about the appreciable decline of the birth rate on the greater part of the territory of the USSR; on the other, the opinion exists that since the decline of the birth rate, that is, the transition from the family with many children to the family with few children, under the influence of a large set of socioeconomic factors is an inevitable and objectively governed process, it is necessary to evaluate this phenomenon in all instances as a positive one and no special steps aimed at its increase should be taken.

The lack of unity in the assessment of the prospects of the birth rate in the USSR among specialists studying the problems of population often has the result that some readers are better informed about the problems of the high birth rate and the rapid growth of the population in the developing countries than about the decline of the birth rate in their own country. But the awareness of the population about the essence and trends of the birth rate, we are firmly convinced, should become universal. The change of the undesirable trends of the birth rate by the pursuit of a purposeful demographic policy depends very substantially on how the population itself regards this question, since the process of the birth rate is formed from millions of births in individual families.

In the end the level of the birth rate in the country is determined by how many children there will be in the majority of families. In order to overcome the demographic "illiteracy" which exists among the population, it is important for it to have a correct idea of the demographic situation in the country. V. I. Perevedentsev writes concerning this: "Let us note that extensive coverage of this question (of the birth rate--G. K.) is important, in particular, because stable erroneous stereotypes have formed in everyday consciousness. Thus, the overwhelming majority of nondemographers believe that 'all is well' while there is not yet an absolute decrease of the population of the country. The indicators of the natural population movement are incorrectly taken as indicators of reproduction.... The point is that children take the place of parents only in the structure of the population, while quantitatively they take the place of the generations of great-grandparents. When children come into this world, their grandfathers and grandmothers and

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great-grandfathers and great-grandmothers are dying. But since those generations in our population take up much less space than would have been the case given the current conditions of reproduction, if they were to continue for long, even the present birth rate could ensure a significant increase of the population. Further, the majority believe that if there are two children in the family, this is quite sufficient for society, that the two-children family ensures the normal reproduction of the population. This is also an error."²

According to the calculations of prominent Soviet demographer B. Ts. Urlanis just for the simple reproduction of the population, that is, for the replacement of the generation of parents with a generation of children of equal size, it is necessary for there to be 258 children per 100 married couples having children, since not all children survive to the age of their parents, not all women get married and have children, not all couples can have children.³

The authors of the articles inserted in the section "Our Happiness Is in Children" convincingly show that the question of the ideal number of children in the family, and in a broader statement the question of the optimum level of the birth rate in the country, is not at all pointless. Without shutting their eyes to the difficulties connected with the birth and raising of children, all the authors are unanimous in the opinion that "children are one of the main layers of the human meaning of life, one of the richest deposits of happiness in the world. But on two conditions: if they are healthy and if we treat them correctly. Without this there is little happiness from them, and much woe."⁴ And the single child in a family from the point of view of rearing is in an exceptionally difficult situation.

The fine Soviet educator A. S. Makarenko believed that the conditions of being an only child are extremely unfavorable for the formation of the character of a person. It is very difficult to correctly treat a child, when he is growing up alone in the family. Very favorable soil is created, on which egoism and at times egocentrism grow luxuriantly. The overestimation of one's personality, which gets on very unusually with prolonged infantilism and with unreadiness to overcome life's difficulties, very often develops among single children. And in all this lies not so much the fault as the misfortune of single children, and not only the misfortune and woe, but also the fault of the parents, who incorrectly raised the only children only because they were the only ones in the family.

In the articles devoted to the birth rate it is emphasized that it would be incorrect to regard the birth and raising of children only as the private affair of parents, since they also perform an important social task. The labor in the raising of children is socially useful labor, and it is in the interests of society to

2. V. I. Perevedentsev, "Woman, the Family, the People," LITERATURN OBOZRENIYE, No 6, 1979, p 37.
3. See B. Ts. Urlanis, "The Family and Problems of Demography," "Molodaya sem'ya" /The Young Family/ ("Narodonaseleniye" /Population/, No 18), Moscow, 1977, p 7.
4. See the article of Yu. B. Ryurikov, "Children Are the Creators of People," in this collection.

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elaborate a set of measures, which evaluate it and compensate for it. In the majority of articles of the section "Our Happiness Is in Children" the authors, taking into account the difficulty of elaborating scientifically sound measures of demographic policy, which are aimed at the creation in the country of the optimum level of the birth rate, still consider it possible already today to provide some recommendations which, in their opinion, can promote the creation of the conditions, which not only facilitate for families the raising of children, but also increase in every possible way the social prestige of motherhood and fatherhood.

Our socialist society has sufficient opportunities for the implementation of the measures of demographic policy in the area of the birth rate, in which the combination of the interests of the family and society would find reflection. However, it is necessary to take into account that in order for these opportunities to be transformed into effective measures, it is necessary not only for the problem of the decline of the birth rate to worry specialists engaged in studies of demographic problems, writers and journalists, but also for the population of the country to realize that the decline of the birth rate to the level, when the generation of children may be smaller than the generation of parents, is an extremely unfortunate phenomenon and that the extensive prevalence of one-child families is bad both for families themselves and for society as a whole.

The articles of the section "Add Life to Age" cover a wide range of questions connected with the increase of the life expectancy and active old age. Among the authors of the articles are the medical personnel Doctors of Medical Sciences M. S. Bednyy and G. I. Kositskiy, the demographers Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor A. Ya. Kvasha and Candidates of Economic Sciences G. Sh. Bakhmetova and I. V. Kalinyuk and the sociologist Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. I. Antonov.

So that some of the questions touched upon in the articles would be clear to the readers, let us briefly characterize the present situation in the area of the death rate, the length of life and the health of the population.

Our country has made great progress in the decrease of the death rate and the increase of the life expectancy. It is well known that the life expectancy in the USSR as compared with prerevolutionary Russia has increased more than twofold (from 32 to 70 years). The number of physicians in 1979 was 958,000 as against 28,000 in 1913, that is, it has increased 37-fold.⁵

In the USSR a basically uniform type of death rate for the entire population of the country has formed, in contrast to the birth rate, which has very substantial regional differences. However, it is necessary to note that the overall coefficient of the death rate, which is calculated per 1,000 inhabitants of the country, shows a very significant differentiation by union republics, which is governed for the most part by the differences in the age structure of the population and first of all by the proportion of people of older ages in the population. Thus, the lowest indicator of the death rate (5.6 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants of the country) in 1979 was in the Armenian SSR, where the proportion of the population of young ages is high, while the highest indicator of the death rate (12.7 deaths per

5. VESTNIK STATISTIKI, No 4, 1980, p 70.

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1,000 inhabitants) was in the Latvian SSR, where the proportion of people 50 years of age and older is one of the highest among all the union republics.⁶ Therefore, when analyzing the overall coefficients of the death rate it should be borne in mind that as the proportion of people of elderly ages in the population increases, both the total number of deaths and the overall coefficients of the death rate increase. Such a phenomenon may occur even in the case of a simultaneous decrease of the intensity of the death rate and a decrease of the value of the coefficients of the death rate in individual age groups.

At present cardiovascular diseases, malignant neoplasms, injuries and other diseases of a so-called endogenous (internal) nature predominate among the causes of death, while prior to the socialist revolution infectious diseases, tuberculosis, diseases of the respiratory and digestive organs and other diseases, in the occurrence of which decisive importance belongs to exogenous (external) factors, predominated in the structure of the causes of death.

The present structure of the causes of death, which is characteristic of the USSR population, exists in all economically developed countries, the population of which has a high life expectancy. It is necessary to bear in mind that such a type of death rate formed in our country in a historically very short time. This became possible owing to the great attention on the part of the Soviet state to the matter of the protection of the health of the Soviet people and to the extensive development of skilled and accessible medical assistance. The need to envisage in the future "the improvement of medical service, the stepping up of environmental protection, the creation of more favorable conditions for... the increase of the length of life and activity of man"⁷ was emphasized in the Basic Directions of USSR National Economic Development for 1976-1980.

In Article 42 of the USSR Constitution the right of citizens to the protection of health, which is guaranteed by free medical assistance for the entire population of the country, is specified and the need to conduct "scientific research, which is aimed at the prevention and the decrease of the rate of illness and at the assurance of a long active life of citizens"⁸ is also noted.

In the section "Add Life to Age" the problems connected with the lengthening of the life of the population with the simultaneous retention of vital activeness are examined; various adverse factors, which influence the health of the population, and the possibilities of transforming old age not into years of decline, but into an active interesting time of life are studied. Questions of longevity are also touched upon.

6. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1979 g." [The USSR National Economy in 1979], Moscow, 1980, pp 38-39; "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda" [Results of the 1970 All-Union Census], Vol II, Moscow, 1972, pp 12-73.

7. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS," p 216.

8. "Konstitutsiya SSSR" [The USSR Constitution], Moscow, 1977, p 17.

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Certainly, not all the aspects connected with the analysis of the problems of the increase of the length of life and the decline of the death rate were reflected in the articles of this section, but the authors directed the attention of the readers to the fact that in many instances the preservation of health depends on the population itself. The increase of the life expectancy of the population, the improvement of its health and the lengthening of vital activity are problems, the successful solution of which is of the greatest importance both for our entire society and for each of its members.

The articles of the section "How to Be Happy" for the most part are devoted to the most diverse aspects of the development of the family--the primary unit of society, which plays a most important role both in the life of each individual person and in the life of all the citizens of our country as a whole. "The family," V. I. Perevedentsev writes, "stands at the center of all demographic phenomena. The overwhelming majority of children appear precisely in the family, precisely the family holds the main place in the raising or socialization of the rising generation. Finally, love-family-marriage relations constitute the center of the problems of private life, the personal happiness of people. In short, the family is the center of public and private interests, many demographic problems of society can also be solved precisely through the family."⁹

The family, being the product of social development, is constantly in the process of movement. In its historical development it underwent a large number of changes both in the forms of organization and in the functions characteristic of it.

At present in our country there basically exist three types of families: completed, so-called nuclear families, which consist of one married couple with children who, as a rule, are minors or have not formed their own family; complete complex families, which consist of two or more married couples (the adult, married children live with the parents); and broken families. The nuclear family is the predominant form of the family both in our country and in all economically developed countries.

According to the 1979 census there were 66.3 million families in the USSR. Among them 29.7 percent of the families consisted of two people, 28.9 percent--three people, 23 percent--four people and 18.4 percent--five or more people. Consequently, more than 80 percent of the families are small family formations which consist of four or less people. The average size of the family (family members living together) for the country as a whole was 3.5 people, among the urban population--3.3 people and among the rural population--3.8 people. On 17 January 1979 122.6 million men and women in the USSR were married.¹⁰

In spite of the fact that the functions performed by the family are extremely diverse, they are at the same time interconnected, their classification and separate

9. V. I. Perevedentsev, "Woman, the Family, the People," LITERATURNNOYE OBOZRENIYE, No 6, 1979, p 34.

10. See "Naseleniye SSSR. Po dannym Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1979 goda" /The USSR Population. According to the Data of the 1979 All-Union Census/, Moscow, 1980, p 17.

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examination are to a considerable extent of an arbitrary nature. In real life all the functions of the family are in close connection and interdependence. It is also necessary to take into account that with the social development of the family the functions performed by it are subject to transformation and development. In the scientific literature devoted to the problems of the development of the family there is no uniform classification and typology of the functions of the family. However, in spite of this, the absolute majority of scientists name as the most important functions of the Soviet family such functions as the reproduction of the population, or the generative-rearing function, the economic function and the organization of leisure time. In recent years many authors have believed that in the modern world the family performs the functions of a "psychological refuge," where "the lifting of business tension" occurs and the creation of emotional comfort is ensured. Of course, only a healthy happy family, in which good-natured relations between its members and a favorable psychological climate reign, can performed the function of a "psychological refuge."

As is known, in our times the family has nearly ceased to perform such a most important function for it as the productive function, which is characteristic of the earlier stages of social development. At the same time the importance of the generative-rearing (demographic) function, the function of the organization of leisure time, spiritual contact and mutual moral support, in our opinion, is increasing substantially. It is possible that the assertion of an increase of the importance of the demographic function of the family at first glance will seem paradoxical, since at present families with few children (one or two children) predominate in the USSR. However, when speaking about the reproductive function of the family, one should bear in mind not only the number of children born, but also the quality of their rearing.

The present level of the development of productive forces is making great demands on the education and skills of workers in all the sectors of production. And this means that the time and assets, which are necessary for the training of highly skilled specialists, are increasing. Thus, both the material expenditures of the family and the amount of nonworking time of the parents, especially of mothers for the caring for children and their rearing, are increasing. The quality of the rearing of a child in many ways depends on the intellect, level of education, culture and spiritual development of the parents. Whereas previously the demographic function of the family for the most part reduced to the bearing of the child and his physical care, now the comprehensive rearing of children, including their spiritual and intellectual development, is the most important and most labor-consuming component of the demographic function of the family. "The basic moral ideas and moral principles are formed in the family. The family introduces the child to the sphere of esthetic culture, develops in him the feeling and tastes, which are necessary for the knowledge and appreciation of art, forms his purposes of orientation and criteria in this area."¹¹ When speaking about the rearing function of the family, it is necessary to bear in mind that both the mutual education of all the family members and self-education take place in the process of communicating with children and with each other.

11. Ya. Shchepan'skiy, "The Family as a Factor of Social Development," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 2, 1977, p 162.

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In the articles of the section "How to Be Happy" the most diverse aspects of the creation and development of the family are touched upon, the moral, ethical, socio-psychological, economic and other aspects of its life are analyzed. The role and importance of children in family life are examined. The factors promoting the strengthening of marital unions and the factors leading to their breakdown are studied. Considerable attention is devoted to the problems of the contact of single people and to the problems of premarital acquaintance. The change of the social status of the modern woman, the distribution of the duties between spouses in the raising of the children, the organization of the leisure time of the family, the care of the family and so forth are also discussed in the section.

The demographers Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor B. Ts. Urlanis and Candidate of Economic Sciences Ye. B. Urlanis, the economist Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor M. Ya. Sonin, the sociologists Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, Candidate of Economic Sciences V. I. Perevedentsev, Candidate of Historical Sciences Z. A. Yankova and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. A. Sysenko and the journalists D. S. Akivis, L. N. Kuznetsova, Ye. R. Mushkina and V. A. Voyna are the authors of the articles of this section.

The majority of the articles of this section contain almost no numerical data, since in them it is a matter mainly of concepts and phenomena, which it is hard to express in formalized indicators, namely the psychological culture of family life, the occurrence of the most diverse complications and difficulties on the path of life of the family and the means of overcoming them, family happiness and the bitterness of loneliness.

Many articles may be especially useful to the readers, since in them life situations, which are quite typical for many families, are examined and they contain favorable and sober recommendations on the standard of family behavior. "For family happiness is not a gift of fate, not a result of sheer luck, it is a matter of one's own hands, reason and kindness, a loving heart and high standards."¹²

It is possible to judge the importance of the problems discussed in the section "How to Be Happy" from the evaluation of the role of the family, which B. Ts. Urlanis and Z. A. Yankova give it on the pages of the newspaper PRAVDA: "The family is the primary unit of society, which in our life plays a role, the importance of which it is hard to overestimate.... In uniting people by the bonds of love, kinship, common interests and mutual responsibility, the good family makes them truly happy, creates a unique world of human unity and a moral and psychological situation, which has an enormous positive influence on each person, promotes the spiritual flourishing of the individual."¹³

Demographic problems are extremely diverse. They go beyond the questions connected with the study of the birth rate, the death rate, the length of life, the reproduction of generations, family development, marriages and divorces. Demography also

12. See the article of Z. A. Yankova, "How Are They--Happy?", in this collection.

13. B. Urlanis, Z. Yankova, "By What the Family Is Strong," PRAVDA, 11 May 1980.

studies such most important aspects of the life of the population as migrations and the settlement of the population over the territory of the country, engages in the forecasting of the size and composition of the population according to sex, age, place of residence, educational and occupational level and so on. Of course, it is impossible to cover all the questions, which are studied in demographic science, in a single collection. However, we considered it useful to include in the collection a number of articles devoted to some problems which are connected with the development of large and small cities and with the settlement of rural inhabitants. These articles are united in the section "Where Are People to Live?" Articles of Doctors of Geographical Sciences B. S. Khorev and S. A. Lavrov and Candidate of Geographical Sciences V. R. Belen'kiy, as well as Candidates of Economic Sciences O. S. Pchelintsev and M. L. Strongina are included in it.

The interest in the questions of the settlement of the population and in the means of the development of the city and the countryside at present and in the future is explained by the problems of the efficient settlement of the population on the territory of our country, the equalization of the living conditions of urban and rural inhabitants and of the population living in cities of different size.

In 1980 63 percent, that is, nearly two-thirds of the population of our country, lived in cities. The cities are divided according to the number of inhabitants into small (less than 20,000 inhabitants), medium-sized (from 20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants) and large (from 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants). The cities with a population of more than 500,000 inhabitants form the group of major cities. Moreover, a special group exists--millionaire cities. At the beginning of 1980 there were 20 of them in the USSR.¹⁴

Nearly 20 years ago, back in 1961, O. S. Pchelintsev in the journal VOPROSY FILOSOFII opened the discussion of the means of developing the processes of urbanization and of the choice of the most efficient strategy of the regulation of settlement with allowance made for the interests of the development of the population and production.¹⁵ The basic idea of the author consisted in the fact that it is necessary to choose the strategy of the settlement of the population on the basis of a comprehensive analysis of the effectiveness of the socioeconomic development of regions. At present these ideas are receiving some embodiment in the master plans of the settlement of the population on the territory of the USSR. The article of O. S. Pchelintsev, "Forward, But Where?", is devoted to the prospects of urbanization and the choice of the means of development for our largest cities and the system of settlement as a whole. Its author, in arguing against the concept "the optimum city," advances the idea of the existence of an objective law in the development of the forms of settlement, on which any urban development policy, which aspires to realisticness, should also be based. He questions the possibility of turning this development "back," from large to small and medium-sized cities, and emphasizes the development of complex, interconnected forms of settlement, which are based on the process of the gradual decentralization of industry and the population of major cities to more and more extensive suburban territories. In the

14. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1979 g.," pp 18-28.

15. See "The Efficient Location of Production and the Problems of Large Cities," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 2, 1961.

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article of M. L. Strongina the idea is stressed that the future development of small and medium-sized cities, which are in the zone of influence of major industrial centers, is not their autonomous development, but their inclusion in the established system of the industrial development of major cities and their simultaneous use as centers of the surrounding rural regions, for which the problem of successful socioeconomic development will thereby be solved. The problems of the settlement of the rural inhabitants of the Nonchernozem Zone are examined in the article of B. S. Khorev, "Must the Pendulum Be Stopped?", which is devoted to the problems of daily commuting, and in the joint article of B. S. Khorev, S. A. Lavrov and V. R. Belen'kiy, "Changing the Customary Style."

The authors of the collection "Demografy dumayut, sporyat, sovetuyut" hope that acquaintance with it not only will help the readers to realize the complexity of the diverse problems of population and will promote cultivation of their definite demographic "competence," but will also serve as a basis for serious thoughts. We also hope that the advice contained in a number of articles will be useful to parents and children, young couples and couples with a very substantial number of years of living together, to young and old--in other words, to everyone who will read it.

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